

**RESOURCE**

# Voting on Campus

## Student-Centered Solutions to Build Election Resiliency

By **Derek Tisler, Marina Pino, and Jiyeon Park** AUGUST 21, 2024

**T**his year, scores of college students will cast a vote for president for the first time. But for too many of these voters, the experience will be marked by confusion and frustration rather than celebration and civic pride.

Every election cycle brings new stories of disruption and delay at campus voting locations. In recent years, administrative challenges in implementing new voting laws, surges in same-day registration, unanticipated high voter turnout, and overextended resources and technical capacity have forced students in California, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Texas (among other states) to wait in hours-long lines to cast their ballots.<sup>1</sup> Stricter voter ID and registration laws in several states have further stymied student voting.<sup>2</sup> Some jurisdictions grapple with other issues, such as college campuses being split into multiple districts, that exacerbate confusion among students about how and where to vote.<sup>3</sup>

Other issues stem from student voting patterns, which differ from those of the general population. Student voters arrive at polling places at different times and often in groups. They are less likely to have in-state driver's licenses and frequently have temporary or changing addresses. Many students are also first-time voters navigating an unfamiliar process. Even when they have voted before, out-of-state students may find state-specific rules and procedures difficult to grasp. And this election cycle, safety and disruption concerns due to campus protests and voter intimidation may escalate challenges.

These concerns call for tailored and strategic resiliency planning. Effective election administration on campus

requires nuanced understanding, adaptable strategies, and creative problem-solving to overcome unique barriers and ensure accessibility and efficiency. This consideration is not limited to students alone; other demographic groups and communities also face distinct obstacles that should be thoughtfully addressed.

This resource aims to address issues specific to college voters casting ballots in person in ways that one-size-fits-all practices cannot. Its recommendations are informed by conversations between Brennan Center staff and election officials who serve college communities in various states with different voting laws and diverse cultural, demographic, and political environments, as well as with college students themselves. The guidance below highlights how election officials and campus stakeholders can work together to assure that student voters can cast their ballots and make their voices heard. As students return to school ahead of the general election, adopting these measures will help officials prepare for 2024 and voting cycles to come.

### **Identifying Partners, Initiating Outreach, and Educating Voters**

College students often encounter distinct obstacles to voting that also challenge election administrators. By

forging strong partnerships with college campuses, election officials can anticipate, understand, and mitigate complications that may arise and promote student participation in the electoral process. While implementing all these suggestions ahead of the 2024 election may not be possible, even partial adoption would go a long way toward ensuring that students can cast ballots that count.

### **Conduct targeted outreach and build connections in college communities.**

Election officials should identify primary college administration contacts who can collaborate on all aspects of planning and execution, including finding potential polling locations, disseminating information, and coordinating logistics. Working with advocates who understand the student population and can effectively navigate campus bureaucracy will help election officials recognize and address potential hurdles more easily and earlier in the planning process. After initiating these relationships, election officials should communicate directly and consistently with campus contacts and their offices.

Student civic and voting groups on campus (regardless of party affiliation) and government or political science departments can also play a role in facilitating on-campus voting and educating student voters. These student and faculty leaders understand the student community and can help build robust campus support networks. Collaborating with them will benefit both election officials and the student community.

Importantly, as one election official noted, leadership in student organizations can change as students cycle in and out, posing a challenge if election officials conduct outreach only during federal election years.<sup>4</sup> Proactive and ongoing engagement, along with plans to maintain campus contacts through student turnover, is essential.

### **Coordinate with trusted sources to share accurate information with students in ways that are most likely to reach them.**

After establishing campus contacts, election officials should develop plans to meet regularly — well ahead of each election — with campus administrators, student groups, and other stakeholders, all of whose insights on communications strategies should be leveraged. Election officials are the authorities on election administration procedures and law; on-campus contributors understand student needs and the best ways to meet them, though they may not always have accurate and timely information to convey. Clearly delineating and understanding these roles and learning how best to collaborate will be vital for success.

Many election offices already publish comprehensive voting and registration information that can benefit student communities. Election officials should distribute these materials to campus contacts and work with them

to determine best practices for relaying information to students. Campus administration offices have communications channels that reach the entire student community, such as school portals, campus-wide listservs, official social media pages, and advertising in campus buildings. Student voting coalitions and civic groups may have their own communications networks as well. Several election officials noted that peer-to-peer networks can be particularly effective in reaching students.<sup>5</sup>

By coordinating with these partners and delegating roles, election officials can ensure that accurate information is circulated from trusted sources, maximizing student voter awareness and participation.

### **Communicate with student voters early and often.**

As one election official observed, students tend to be more deadline-driven, (or, less politely, they tend to procrastinate), leaving tasks to the last minute while juggling class schedules and assignments, especially without reminders to prompt earlier action.<sup>6</sup> As such, when communicating to college students, election officials should break up information and tie it to election deadlines — including the last day to register, the last day to request an absentee ballot, and the first and last day of early voting — giving students enough time to make any necessary preparations.

Election offices that have capacity can also post voting and registration information specific to college students online in a downloadable and printable format.

### **Develop and promote registration information specific to student voters.**

With many first-time voters and out-of-state students on college campuses, election officials report frequent confusion regarding voter registration and state-specific requirements. Registration procedures may differ from that of students' previous home states, and students might be unsure of their registration status. For example, with increasing adoption of automatic and same-day voter registration,<sup>7</sup> some students who previously voted in states that have these policies may have never needed to register ahead of Election Day.

Whether they are unregistered or registered in another state or jurisdiction, clear and streamlined information will help students understand their options and obligations, along with any implications if they update their residency to their college address. Even where same-day registration is available, election officials should promote early registration, underscoring how timely action can simplify and expedite the voting process and address potential issues in advance.

Collaborating with campus partners to organize voter registration drives is one way to boost early registration efforts. Successful examples from election officials include

partnering with campus athletics departments to leverage sporting events, offering registration during orientation week for incoming students, and organizing around other campus events that feature free food and fun activities. Election officials should ensure that events steer clear of state laws governing how food and other items of value may be distributed at registration and voting sites.<sup>8</sup>

### **Encourage students to use early voting options.**

Voters who wait until the last minute to cast a ballot may encounter long lines on Election Day or registration issues that are too late to correct. Encouraging students to vote early can resolve issues in advance, shorten wait times, and improve the experience for all voters.

To promote a culture of early voting (where it is available), election officials should collaborate with campus partners to tout its advantages. Integrating early voting information into campus communications — such as emails, social media posts, and event announcements — can significantly boost student awareness of these options. Election officials and campus stakeholders should publicize early voting sites on or near campus with maps, flyers, and digital tools. Early voting days can also be planned on campus, either as standalone events or paired with other activities, to drive participation through festive, communal voting experiences.

### **Allow voters to provide additional contact information, such as email addresses and phone numbers.**

Election officials should allow voters to sign up for email and text messaging alerts and promote these sign-up opportunities through their websites and social media accounts. Both election officials and students noted that text messaging is an especially effective way to reach young voters.<sup>9</sup> When requesting contact information, election administrators should be transparent about its purpose and inform students that the election office may use it to share status updates or essential voting information. Transparency ensures that students understand the intent and will not view official communications with suspicion.

### **Debrief with campus partners after every election.**

Each voting cycle brings successes and valuable learning opportunities. Afterward, election officials should meet directly with campus stakeholders to discuss any obstacles or complications encountered and share feedback for addressing these issues in the future. These conversations not only generate new ideas for upcoming elections but also help strengthen relationships between election offices and campus partners.

## **Selecting and Preparing Voting Locations**

---

Student voters frequently cite a lack of convenient and accessible polling places and limited transportation options to off-campus locations as barriers to the ballot box.<sup>10</sup> Students often have unpredictable schedules and limited time due to school and work responsibilities. Many also rely on public transit to reach areas outside their immediate communities.

Careful planning and collaboration can help election officials secure convenient and safe campus voting locations for student voters. Even after locations have been established, opportunities remain for election officials and key stakeholders to coordinate voter education efforts and create emergency response plans.

### **Where possible, create a centralized voting location on campus (or establish multiple locations that serve all voters).**

Many election officials advocated a vote center model, wherein all eligible student voters can go to one or more on-campus locations to vote rather than an assigned precinct location.<sup>11</sup> Where state law permits, election officials should work to establish centralized voting locations (including satellite election offices, where applicable) that are convenient to college communities, even if only for the early voting period. At least 18 states allow the use of vote centers on Election Day, and more states allow them during early voting.<sup>12</sup> Election officials emphasized the following benefits of on-campus vote centers:

- **Flexibility to select highly visible, familiar, and accessible locations.** Without precinct-assignment constraints, election officials can select voting locations in convenient areas on or adjacent to campuses that meet the accessibility needs of all voters, including voters with disabilities. Election officials and students alike noted the advantages of using facilities that students regularly visit, such as student unions, welcome centers, and dining halls.<sup>13</sup> For urban or larger campuses, well-known and frequented facilities near college buildings like museums or libraries are also practical options.<sup>14</sup>
- **Streamlined voter education.** Vote centers remove the need for students to look up their assigned polling location and the possibility that they will show up to a site where they are not qualified to vote. They can simply go to the on-campus vote center — the same place their classmates are going to vote, which increases their likelihood of voting.<sup>15</sup>

- **More targeted and effective resource planning.** Centralized on-campus voting locations also allow election officials to better surge targeted resources rather than dividing attention across scattered locations. Vote centers not only allow election officials to serve students more effectively, they also mitigate potential disruptions and slowdowns at other voting locations that primarily serve nonstudent voters.

### **Work collaboratively with college administrations to identify practical and convenient polling places.**

Where possible, election officials should collaborate with campus contacts to survey potential polling places and establish campus voting locations well ahead of a voting cycle. Both election officials and college administrators bring unique expertise to this decision-making process. Election officials understand operational needs for polling places, including space and power requirements for voting equipment, accessibility requirements, and parking and transportation needs for poll workers, staff, and voters. College administrators can provide campus-specific insights, including which areas students frequent, how daily activities affect facilities, and how campus stakeholders can make sites more visible to students.

As one election official noted, having “an advocate within the university bureaucracy makes a huge difference in what locations are opened up. . . . Before [our] partnership, we were just an outside entity with requests.”<sup>16</sup> An election official shared that one university offered golf carts to help poll workers get to and from a remote parking lot.<sup>17</sup> Another explained how a university, in conjunction with the city, covered meters and refrained from enforcing parking laws near polling locations.<sup>18</sup>

### **Coordinate with campus stakeholders and law enforcement to prepare for emergencies that are unique to college campuses.**

Election officials should include campus administrators, campus police, and other relevant stakeholders in their general preparations with law enforcement ahead of each election. These efforts are especially important in light of recent upticks in campus protests and activists’ calls to target the student vote based on false claims of fraud.<sup>19</sup>

Planning should include crisis communications and how to notify college students in the event of an emergency at or near voting locations. When resources and time permit, election officials should also consider conducting tabletop exercises with relevant stakeholders concerning civil unrest and election security on college campuses. Proactive engagement can minimize potentially intimidating or disruptive conduct during voting periods, ensuring smooth — and safe — balloting.

Election officials should also educate campus law enforcement on relevant election laws so they understand

what conduct is and is not allowed, including by law enforcement. The Committee for Safe and Secure Elections, a partnership between election officials and law enforcement to boost protections for election workers and voters, offers state-specific law enforcement reference guides for this purpose.<sup>20</sup>

## **Staffing Voting Locations, Allocating Resources, and Managing the Process**

---

Although election officials must prepare resiliency plans to prevent, detect, and recover from disruptions at any voting location,<sup>21</sup> student voters often exhibit unique voting patterns that complicate one-size-fits-all solutions for campus voting locations. For example, while most polling places see their longest lines first thing in the morning,<sup>22</sup> college students may be more likely to arrive later in the day after classes, and they may be more likely to show up in groups, which makes predicting lines and anticipating delays difficult. Students may also be more likely to seek or require resource-dependent voting services such as same-day registration and provisional voting. Finally, students are disproportionately likely to be voting for the first time in that jurisdiction, or ever. Unfamiliarity with procedures and ballot information can lead to longer time spent voting, heightened confusion, or — at worst — deterrence from voting.

Through careful staffing, setup, and management of campus voting locations, election officials can respond to and recover from disruptions that arise throughout the voting period.

### **Staff on-campus voting locations with experienced poll workers in lead roles.**

At least one person at each location should have the experience necessary to answer questions from first-time voters, handle procedures that may be less routine in other polling places (such as same-day registration, mail ballot spoiling, provisional voting, and processing residency-affirming affidavits when a voter does not have a proper ID), and understand contingency protocols if disruptions arise.

### **Recruit students to assist at on-campus voting locations.**

Both election officials and students discussed the benefits of having students serve at voting locations.<sup>23</sup> Student poll workers can facilitate peer-to-peer interactions that create an inviting environment and help other students feel comfortable asking questions, raising issues, and participating in elections. Student poll workers are more

likely to understand common issues and questions that other students face, such as how to obtain required proof of residency. And they may be more technologically savvy, which can be invaluable for managing and troubleshooting electronic pollbooks, scanners, and accessible voting equipment. One election official specifically mentioned law students as a potential pool of poll worker talent: their legal training can help them understand and implement election laws, particularly new ones.<sup>24</sup>

When students return to campus in the fall, election officials will have an ideal launch point for these recruitment efforts. In recruiting student poll workers, election officials emphasized that students often fail to realize that it is paid work.<sup>25</sup> Officials should highlight in their outreach that poll work is an opportunity to serve their community, participate in democracy, and get paid to do it.

Students can also serve in a volunteer capacity, as line managers or greeters, for example. Volunteering is a way for students to get involved even if they do not meet requirements to serve as a poll worker (because of partisan or residency requirements, for instance), are unable to attend a full training session, or cannot work a whole day due to class or work commitments. Although volunteers may be ineligible to perform official duties such as checking in voters, their presence can create a welcoming environment and keep student voters calm and organized if lines get long. In recruiting student volunteers, election officials have suggested connecting with student athletes, fraternities and sororities, and other organizations that have community service requirements.<sup>26</sup>

### **Give voters clear information, delivered at the right moment.**

On-campus voting locations serve many first-time voters and voters from other states. These voters may not understand the election procedures that habitual voters and long-time residents of a community take for granted.

A University of Michigan on-campus voting location takes these challenges to heart. Prominent displays and messaging are part of the voting experience. A partnership between the Ann Arbor city clerk's office and the university's Stamps School of Art & Design installed stylistic, large-scale signage and graphics to guide and inform student voters as they move through the voting location. Wall installations and signs let students know that they are allowed to look up information on their phones while marking their ballots and remind them to sign and date their ballot envelopes before inserting them into the drop box.<sup>27</sup> Plain-language instructions at each step ensure that voters have the necessary information fresh in mind.

Even when election offices lack the resources and capacity for design on such a scale, they can look for smaller ways to achieve similar goals. The city clerk and the professors leading the partnership in Michigan both

emphasized that student voters (and especially first-time voters) often feel intimidated by the complexity of the voting process and may not feel comfortable asking questions.<sup>28</sup> Creative approaches to proactive communication can help.

### **Account for different needs and constraints when allocating staff and resources.**

Student voters are more apt to use voting processes that are time- and resource-intensive. College students are disproportionately likely to take advantage of same-day registration where permitted because they are more likely to be voting in a jurisdiction for the first time.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, college students are less likely to have a qualifying voter ID<sup>30</sup> — for example, because they have an out-of-state driver's license — and more of them may vote using provisional ballots than a jurisdiction's typical constituency. If election officials do not plan for these disparities, they risk long lines, confusion, and supply shortages that could end up discouraging would-be student voters.

Election officials must provide on-campus voting locations with enough materials (registration forms, paper ballots, provisional envelopes, etc.) to handle unpredictable voter arrival times, including surges of voters at the end of the day, when delivery of more supplies may no longer be an option. Registration forms and provisional ballots can also serve as a contingency measure in case electronic pollbooks are inoperable. Election officials should provide sufficient extra materials to cover this need. (The Brennan Center typically recommends having enough contingency supplies to cover two to three hours of peak voting in order to buy time until a technical issue can be resolved.)<sup>31</sup>

### **Utilize effective line management practices to decrease wait times.**

One election official estimated that it takes four times as long to check in a voter who needs to register at a voting location compared with one who is already registered.<sup>32</sup> In large numbers, same-day registration, provisional voting, and difficulties verifying identity and residency can quickly lead to long lines. Election officials have developed a variety of line management best practices that may be particularly beneficial at voting locations that serve college voters.

When lines form, poll workers or line management volunteers should provide voters with needed information and documentation before they reach the check-in table. For example, poll workers can pass out registration forms, pens, and clipboards for voters to start on while waiting. Election officials can encourage voters to verify that they are registered to vote in the right jurisdiction and precinct using signage or QR codes to direct voters to online lookup tools. Poll workers can also bring phones or tablets to wait-



ing voters to help look up information for them. These steps can greatly reduce time spent checking in voters. They can also filter out voters who should not be in line to begin with (because they are registered to vote in a different jurisdiction, for instance).

If a large enough share of voters needs to register same-day, poll workers should consider setting up separate lines and check-in stations. As one election official put it, creating a process comparable to an airport pre-check line for voters who are already registered and eligible to cast a regular ballot can ameliorate some of these challenges.<sup>33</sup> This strategy allows poll workers to focus on registering voters without having to switch between different check-in procedures. It can also help ensure that voters who registered ahead of time are not deterred from voting by long wait times.

## Conclusion

---

More than 8 million newly eligible young people are estimated to reach voting age ahead of this year's presidential election.<sup>34</sup> Many will plan to cast a ballot for the first time at or near their college campus.

Beyond highlighting best practices that election officials have developed to serve these first-time and other college students, this resource can give students and campus stakeholders a window into the vital work that goes into running free and fair elections. With proper support and resources, a whole-of-community approach can ensure that all voters, including students, can better access the ballot box and have a greater say in our democracy.

# Endnotes

---

- 1 Nouran Salahieh and Sara Welch, "UCLA Students Face Waits of More than 2 Hours to Cast Ballots at Campus Vote Centers," KTLA (Los Angeles), March 3, 2020, <http://ktla.com/news/local-news/ucla-students-face-waits-of-more-than-2-hours-to-cast-ballots-at-campus-vote-centers>; Ryan Stanton, "'It's a Mess.' Behind the Long Election Lines at the University of Michigan," MLive (Ann Arbor), November 10, 2022, <http://www.mlive.com/politics/2022/11/its-a-mess-behind-the-long-election-lines-at-the-university-of-michigan.html>; Chris Doyle, "Long Lines, Registration Problems Hold Up Students on Election Day," *Daily Pennsylvanian* (University of Pennsylvania), November 9, 2016, <http://www.thedp.com/article/2016/11/long-lines-hold-up-students-on-election-day>; and Alexa Ura, "Texas Voting Lines Last Hours After Polls Close on Super Tuesday," KUT News (Austin), March 3, 2020, <http://www.kut.org/politics/2020-03-03/texas-voting-lines-last-hours-after-polls-close-on-super-tuesday>.
- 2 League of Women Voters, "Challenges Facing Student Voters," updated June 20, 2024, <http://www.lwv.org/blog/challenges-facing-student-voters>.
- 3 Jyotsna Naidu, "Local Independent Redistricting Could Challenge Gerrymandered Campus," *Miscellany News* (Vassar College), February 9, 2022, <http://miscellanynews.org/2022/02/09/news/local-independent-redistricting-could-challenge-gerrymandered-campus>.
- 4 Lucy Martin (auditor, Story County, IA), conversation with Brennan Center, June 20, 2024.
- 5 Jacqueline Beaudry (city clerk, Ann Arbor, MI), conversation with Brennan Center, May 17, 2024; Derek Bowens (director of elections, Durham County, NC), conversation with Brennan Center, June 3, 2024; and Maribeth Witzel-Behl (city clerk, Madison, WI) and Bonnie Chang (municipal clerk, Madison, WI), conversation with Brennan Center, May 22, 2024.
- 6 Beaudry, conversation.
- 7 National Conference of State Legislatures, "Automatic Voter Registration," updated February 12, 2024, <http://www.ncsl.org/elections-and-campaigns/automatic-voter-registration>; and National Conference of State Legislatures, "Same-Day Voter Registration," updated July 20, 2024, <http://www.ncsl.org/elections-and-campaigns/same-day-voter-registration>.
- 8 See Christina E. Bustos, "Is Line Warming Legal?," American Bar Association, February 7, 2024, [http://www.americanbar.org/groups/senior\\_lawyers/resources/experience/2024-january-february/is-line-warming-legal](http://www.americanbar.org/groups/senior_lawyers/resources/experience/2024-january-february/is-line-warming-legal).
- 9 Eric Fey (director of elections, St. Louis County, MO), conversation with Brennan Center, May 17, 2024; and Maya Adhikari, Georgia Bailey-Kennedy, Ochuwa Garuba, and Avery Smedley (current college students), conversation with Brennan Center, June 18, 2024.
- 10 Mia Paone, "Get Out the (Texas Student) Vote," *Medium*, July 26, 2023, <https://medium.com/@miapaone20/get-out-the-texas-student-vote-7fbfb7ecd85> (citing an MTV Entertainment Studios and Duke University study, published by Campus Voter Project, which found that "while college students voted at a higher rate than youth voters in 2020, young people who did not vote cited lack of transportation and inconvenient locations as barriers that kept them from the polls," and that "the vast majority of colleges do not have easily accessible on-campus polling places"); and Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), "Why Youth Don't Vote: Differences by Race and Education," August 21, 2018, <http://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/why-youth-dont-vote-differences-race-and-education>.
- 11 Fey, conversation; Beaudry, conversation; and U.S. Election Assistance Commission, "Election Administration in College Communities," YouTube, July 26, 2023, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p\\_B5l-4y8JE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p_B5l-4y8JE) (comments from Derek Bowens, 24:51–26:10).
- 12 National Conference of State Legislatures, "Vote Centers," updated January 19, 2023, <http://www.ncsl.org/elections-and-campaigns/vote-centers>.
- 13 Witzel-Behl and Chang, conversation; Bowens, conversation; Adhikari et al., conversation.
- 14 Beaudry, conversation; Eneida Tavares (election commissioner, Boston, MA), conversation with Brennan Center, June 5, 2024.
- 15 André Blais, Carol Galais, and Maxime Coulombe, "The Effect of Social Pressure from Family and Friends on Turnout," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 36, no. 9 (September 2019): 2824–41, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0265407518802463>.
- 16 Witzel-Behl and Chang, conversation.
- 17 Fey, conversation.
- 18 Martin, conversation.
- 19 Josh Dawsey and Amy Gardner, "Top GOP Lawyer Decries Ease of Campus Voting in Private Pitch to RNC," *Washington Post*, April 20, 2023, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2023/04/20/cleta-mitchell-voting-college-students>.
- 20 Committee for Safe and Secure Elections, "Resources," accessed July 31, 2024, <http://safeelections.org/resources>.
- 21 Edgardo Cortés et al., *Preparing for Cyberattacks and Technical Failures: A Guide for Election Officials*, Brennan Center for Justice, December 19, 2019, <http://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/policy-solutions/preparing-cyberattacks-and-technical-failures-guide-election-officials>.
- 22 John C. Fortier et al., *Improving the Voter Experience: Reducing Polling Place Wait Times by Measuring Lines and Managing Polling Place Resources*, Bipartisan Policy Center, April 2018, <http://bipartisanpolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Improving-The-Voter-Experience-Reducing-Polling-Place-Wait-Times-by-Measuring-Lines-and-Managing-Polling-Place-Resources.pdf>.
- 23 Beaudry, conversation; Witzel-Behl and Chang, conversation; Adhikari et al., conversation.
- 24 Beaudry, conversation.
- 25 Bowens, conversation; Tavares, conversation.
- 26 U.S. Election Assistance Commission, "Election Administration in College Communities" (comments from Jamie Shew, county clerk and county election officer, Douglas County, KS, 44:55–47:12).
- 27 Creative Campus Voting Project, "Voting Hubs 2022," accessed July 31, 2024, <http://www.creativecampusvoting.org/voting-hubs-2022>.
- 28 Beaudry, conversation; Stephanie Rowden (associate professor, University of Michigan), conversation with Brennan Center, April 4, 2024.
- 29 Jacob M. Grumbach and Charlotte Hill, "Rock the Registration: Same Day Registration Increases Turnout of Young Voters," *Journal of Politics* 84, no. 1 (2022): 405–17, <https://doi.org/10.1086/714776>.
- 30 See Jillian Andres Rothschild, Samuel B. Novey, and Michael J. Hanmer, *Who Lacks ID in America Today? An Exploration of Voter ID Access, Barriers, and Knowledge*, Center for Democracy and Civic Engagement, June 2024, <https://cdce.umd.edu/sites/cdce.umd.edu/files/pubs/Voter%20ID%20survey%20Key%20Results%20June%202024.pdf> (finding that younger Americans overall are far less likely to have a driver's license with their current name or address).
- 31 Cortés et al., *Preparing for Cyberattacks and Technical Failures*;

Gowri Ramachandran and Derek Tisler, "To Avoid an Election Meltdown, Officials Must Stockpile Backup Paper Ballots," Brennan Center for Justice, September 29, 2020, <http://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/avoid-election-meltdown-officials-must-stockpile-backup-paper-ballots>.

**32** Martin, conversation.

**33** Martin, conversation.

**34** CIRCLE, "41 Million Members of Gen Z Will Be Eligible to Vote in 2024," October 18, 2023, <https://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/41-million-members-gen-z-will-be-eligible-vote-2024>.



## **ABOUT THE AUTHORS**

► **Derek Tisler** is counsel in the Brennan Center’s Elections and Government Program. Tisler is an author of several recent reports, including *Securing the 2024 Election* (2023), *Election Officials Under Attack* (2021), and *Preparing for Cyberattacks and Technical Problems During the Pandemic* (2020). His work has been featured in *Foreign Affairs*, *FiveThirtyEight*, and the *Hill*, among other publications. Prior to joining the Brennan Center, Tisler was a legislative assistant with the Michigan Municipal League, supporting policy development and advocacy on issues impacting local government. He earned his BA from Michigan State University and his JD from the University of Chicago Law School.

► **Marina Pino** is counsel in the Brennan Center’s Elections and Government Program. Prior to joining the Brennan Center, she served as a legal fellow with the Fair Elections Center in Washington, DC. Her work has been featured in *Ms. Magazine* and the *New York Law Journal*, among other publications. Pino earned her BA from Hofstra University and her JD from the University of Michigan Law School, where she served as managing editor of the *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* and a production editor of the *Michigan Journal of Gender & Law*. She clerked for Judge Gershwin A. Drain at the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan.

► **Jiyoon Park** is a program associate in the Brennan Center’s Elections and Government Program, where she focuses on election administration and security. Prior to joining the Brennan Center, Park worked as a litigation paralegal at Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton LLP. She earned her BA from Wesleyan University.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

The Brennan Center extends deep gratitude to our supporters, who make this resource and all our work possible. See them at [brennancenter.org/supporters](https://brennancenter.org/supporters).

The authors are grateful to the election officials, students, and experts who generously provided knowledge and perspectives that informed this resource: Maya Adhikari, student, Rice University; Georgia Bailey-Kennedy, student, Brown University; Jacqueline Beaudry, city clerk, Ann Arbor, MI; Derek Bowens, director of elections, Durham County, NC; Bonnie Chang, municipal clerk, Madison, WI; Ryan Drysdale, director of impact and state networks, ALL IN Campus Democracy Challenge at Civic Nation; Eric Fey, director of elections, St. Louis County, MO; Ochuwa Garuba, student, Vanderbilt University; Lucy Martin, auditor, Story County, IA; Stephanie Rowden, associate professor, Stamps School of Art & Design, University of Michigan; Avery Smedley, student, Duke University; Eneida Tavares, election commissioner, Boston, MA; and Maribeth Witzel-Behl, city clerk, Madison, WI. (Affiliations are listed for identification purposes only.)

The authors also acknowledge the contributions of their Brennan Center colleagues. Lawrence Norden, Gowri Ramachandran, Veronica Degraffenreid, Liz Howard, and Kathy Boockvar provided crucial direction, expertise, and insight. Undergraduate intern Avery Smedley contributed valuable research.

## **ABOUT THE BRENNAN CENTER**

The Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law is a nonpartisan law and policy institute that works to reform and revitalize — and when necessary defend — our country’s systems of democracy and justice. The Brennan Center is dedicated to protecting the rule of law and the values of constitutional democracy. We focus on voting rights, campaign finance reform, ending mass incarceration, and preserving our liberties while also maintaining our national security. Part think tank, part advocacy group, part cutting-edge communications hub, we start with rigorous research. We craft innovative policies. And we fight for them — in Congress and the states, in the courts, and in the court of public opinion.

## **ABOUT THE BRENNAN CENTER’S ELECTIONS AND GOVERNMENT PROGRAM**

The Brennan Center’s Elections and Government Program works to improve the administration of our elections. We advocate for campaign finance reform, combat misinformation and political violence, and respond to technological change. By eliminating barriers to political participation and countering discrimination in electoral systems, this work aims to bring the ideal of representative self-government closer to reality.

## **STAY CONNECTED**

Visit our website at [brennancenter.org](https://brennancenter.org).

© 2024. This paper is covered by the [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/) license. It may be reproduced in its entirety as long as the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law is credited, a link to the Brennan Center’s website is provided, and no charge is imposed. The paper may not be reproduced in part or in altered form, or if a fee is charged, without the Brennan Center’s permission. Please let the Brennan Center know if you reprint.

**BRENNAN  
CENTER**  

---

**FOR JUSTICE**

Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law  
120 Broadway // 17th Floor // New York, NY 10271  
[brennancenter.org](http://brennancenter.org)